/113 cont./

361 but rather we are /114/ concerned, almost without exception, with individual farms scattered on the slopes of the mountains, where the families live in the midst of their cultivated fields [157] (cf. Ills. 156 and 157 /see p. 269 and 270/). The Paez is by no means an unsociable person and likes to take part in the festivals, but he does not like to live closely confined in a village and to have his neighbors always around him; rather, he prefers to live quite far away from the next house, surrounded by his animals, in order to be able to go about his daily work in the fields undisturbed with his family.

423 609 Every Paez has a strong tie to "his soil," and the fear that he could be robbed of his soil and land dictates his unfriendly and forbidding attitude toward the stranger. Besides, for centuries their experiences with the whites have been too unfortunate for the Paez to be able to understand that a stranger might come for entirely unselfish reasons, merely in order to become acquainted with them and their country.

423 [342] [428] The Paez builds his house, as the family's focus and social center, only upon his own land, which he inherited from his fathers and which, through all subsequent generations, belongs to the family that first cultivated it. There is land in sufficient quantity in every family; in case of need anyone can also find ownerless, uncleared land on the highest sites of the mountain ranges.

Whereas the slopes of the mountains are private property after the initial clearing, the valley floor with the community house and the festival plaza is community land. The houses are 487 [488] connected with one another, as well as with the village plaza, by means of footpaths which are always very narrow because the Paez, even in larger numbers, never walk side by side, but always one behind the other. Originally even the connecting trails between the individual villages, the trails that had to be taken to the weekly markets in Belalcázar or Inzá, were no wider. In more recent times, however, visits on the part of secular and religious authorities made it necessary to widen the trails for riders.

3/ Since there are no compact settlements among the Paez, there is also no geographical variations of the village. The church

/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
• 342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help
000 them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./ Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ōpyat (ōp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones, which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dūyat) is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ēyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dūyat of another house. In no case may they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a compartment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/117 cont./

342 761 783 [752] Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the [773] [628] myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (eč ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept 961 783 123 among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the ečˇ or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsʸínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopān̄t) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
[273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāč" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/119 cont./

574 would ever enter a house whose occupants were not present. We
576 never succeeded in persuading Victoriano to enter an empty house, although he knew that we were always greatly interested in learning about the interior of houses and their furnishings.

• 342 The door of the house is only in rare cases a wide board which at the top and bottom on one side runs out into two pegs which turn in a socket, one in the threshold and one in the door-frame. The entrance is generally constructed in the same fashion as the wall (ĩnd), which /120/ consists of vertical maize stalks placed next to one another as closely as possible and lashed by means of bast or a liana to one another and to two horizontal maize stalks. The latter always reach from side post to side post. At the place for the door, the rigid wall is interrupted, and the vertically placed maize stalks, only loosely bound with bast, may be shoved a little to one side, whereby they drag along the ground (Ill. 158 /see p. 270/).

[231] Dogs, cats, and chickens are kept in the houses, but not pigs, which live out of doors all the time, exactly like the cows, horses, and sheep.

c) Household Implements

Generally the house has only one division into two rooms, the smaller of which is the kitchen, living room, and bedroom, the larger serving as storage and supply room. The wall between these two rooms is likewise only made out of maize stalks set next to one another vertically. In the "large" houses the larger [249] part contains the sugar mill, by means of which undiluted sugar-[404] cane juice may be produced, even in rainy weather. In case 596 adult married sons live in their father's house, a separate com-342 partment divided off in the same manner is built for these families and furnished as a kitchen, either next to the living room of the parents or -- as in most cases -- on the other side of the 354 house. The hearth area is the family center, and every married 596 woman, in case she is living as a daughter-in-law in the house of the father-in-law, has her own hearth area. The latter has

the simplest possible form

000 /120 cont./
354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-
415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a
metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very
poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively
[417] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set
between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip
over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-
covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166
352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made
[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which
[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food
are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind
[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-
[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/
sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez
[111] who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white
colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort
of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds
[313] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread
on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and
362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-
132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind
from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw
the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up
462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down
[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going
[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of
the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up
every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,
[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have
the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes
[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the
men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that
basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/271 cont./

753 caused by the spirits ec̆, tũs, or gĕlyómp, or general emanations
783 of impurity, of "pest" (uwẽ). Such reasons for catching pest, and
[754] thereby being afflicted with sickness, result largely from neglecting
[764] the prescribed shamanistic purifications. These must take place after a burial or when someone has merely seen a funeral procession or entered a house in which there is a corpse. The prohibitions
753 surrounding a woman giving birth or menstruating are just as strict.
783 If she does not retire to the menstruation hut at the proper time,
841 if she cohabits during these days or neglects to take the subsequent
[849] bath after menstruation and birth, the consequences are equally
[264] grave. Pest befalls a man if he accepts food from a menstruating
753 woman. The same consequences befall the one who in housebuild-
783 ing or during the first harvest does not have the proper ceremonies
756 performed by the shaman.
342

754 Most people die as the result of the evil influence of the
783 nyic, the evil sorcerers. The latter -- it is firmly believed --
761 are able to kill individual persons as well as to send pest to entire villages. Their power of evil is regarded as almost unlimited. Besides being bewitched by a nyic, there are three other possibili-
753 ties for a person to become ill or to die. These causes are
761 gĕlyómp, tũs, and ec̆. All three are very complex conceptions
771 and may be translated roughly as "mountain spirit," "rainbow," and "firefly," respectively, although the Paez conception and the
[756] translation are not completely identical. The teyu knows the cause of the illness immediately from his signs, the rest of the people, however, usually only after the death of the sick person. And, to be sure, one recognizes the tũs as the cause of illness by the fact /272/ that the corpse lies there with a bent limb (arm or leg), whereas in the case of ec as the cause of death, blood flows from the mouth or nose. It is also possible that both together, tũs and ec̆, might bring death to the person, for example, if the person lies there bent and blood flows from the mouth or nose.

776 The gĕlyómp spirit lives chiefly in the mountains, but also in the valley, on the banks of brooks or rivers. He likes to lead wanderers astray in the mountains by making noise and screaming up there; at night one hears his screams -- like those of a human

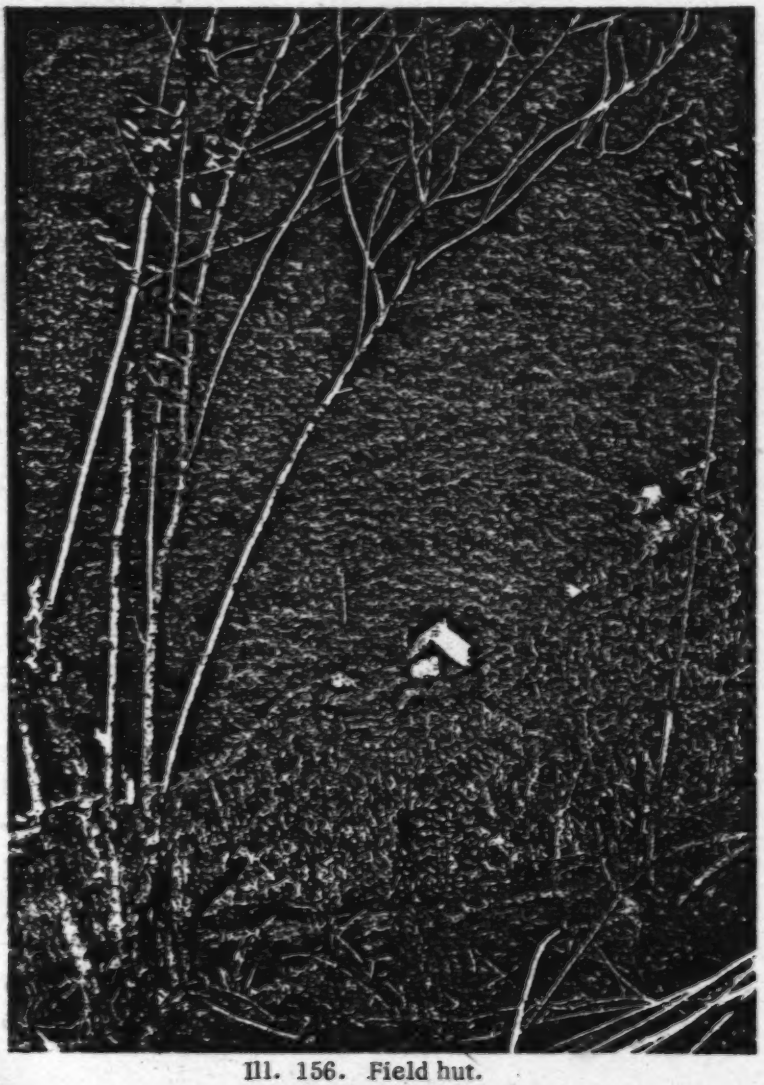
/283 cont./

756 It is killed by members of another family, since the ones concerned
783 may not perform any work or activity. The pig is scalded over a
769 hole into which the hair and refuse are thrown. The parts of the pig which the ancestor spirits, through the signs of the shaman, wish as a sacrifice are put into a fiber bag with a wooden stick. During this time the women bake small, flat maize cakes, and, to be sure, as many as there are dead in the family. These are
756 likewise put into the bag, and, in addition, a large quantity of
783 other food. Moreover, small wooden dolls, dressed like living
532 Paez, are carved in the same number as the dead. About 40
769 meters from the house a grave with a lateral niche is dug, exactly like the one made for deceased persons. In the evening the shaman goes there with the members of the family and performs the ceremonial purification on them. After that the sky becomes covered with thick, black clouds, in the direction of which the teyu spits his medicinal herbs. After two hours the clouds move off toward the left and bring into view the starry sky. Now the shaman lays the dolls (as representations of the spirits of the dead) into the lateral niche of the grave, sets a wax candle beside them, and blows his medicinal herbs over them. With a /284/ stone he closes off the lateral niche and then places the
756 bag with the food into the pit. After the latter has again been
783 filled with earth, he proceeds to a renewed purification of the
769 members of the family, which is undertaken a third time in the house and at the same time on the helpers in the pig-slaughtering and the baking. In conclusion one half of the pig is now eaten jointly, whereas the other half belongs to the shaman as remuneration.

756 A further important shamanistic ceremony is undertaken when
342 a new house is built. On this occasion the teyu, in dedication,
783 spits his herbs on the future fire area of the house and digs a small
[824] hole into which he places the herbs ṽ̃u and ɣ̃ulape. On a small pile of wood he burns other herbs, the ashes of which he carries out of the house. Now he lights a new fire, in which he roasts a young maize ear and gives it to a dog to eat. If the latter does not die, this is regarded as a sign that no pest exists here any longer and the occupants may confidently live here. If this were not the case, they would be obliged to leave the house.

1: Nachtigall--269 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

• 342



Ill. 156. Field hut.

1: Nachtigall--270 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

342

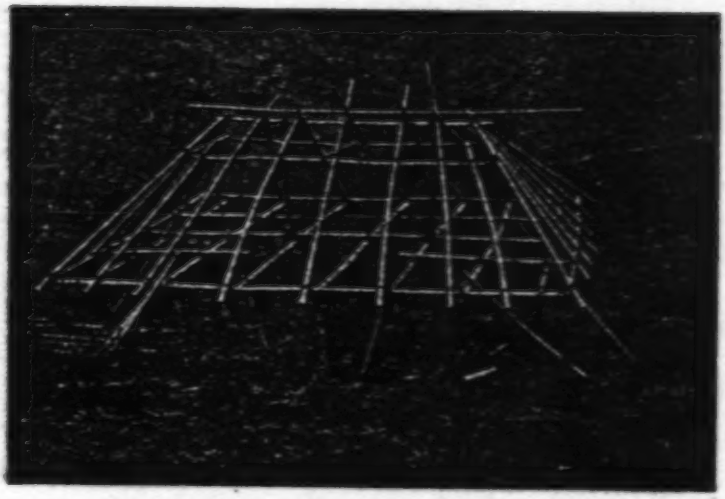
Ill. 157. Dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field.

Ill. 158. Field hut made out of maize stalks.

1: Nachtigall--271 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

● 342

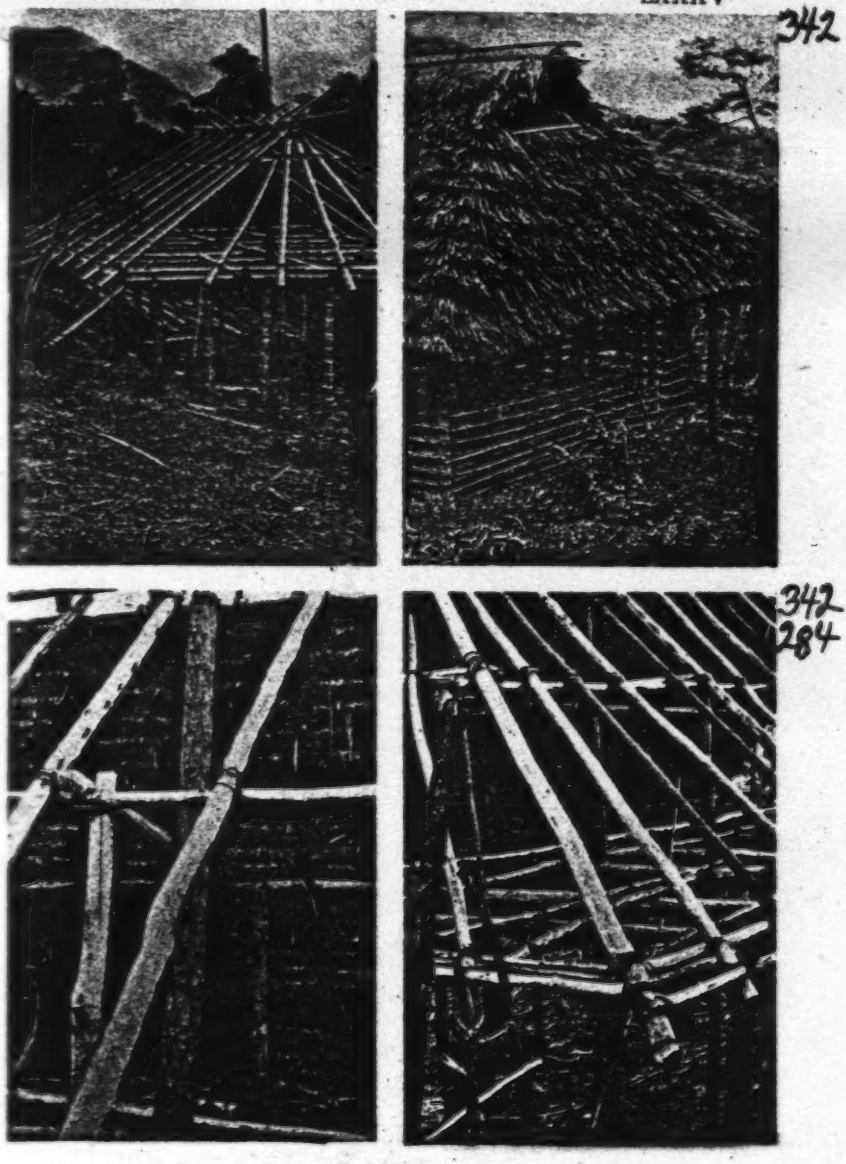
Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house.



Ill. 160. Frame of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

1: Nachtigall--272 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

342 ●



342
284

Ills. 161-164. House construction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

361
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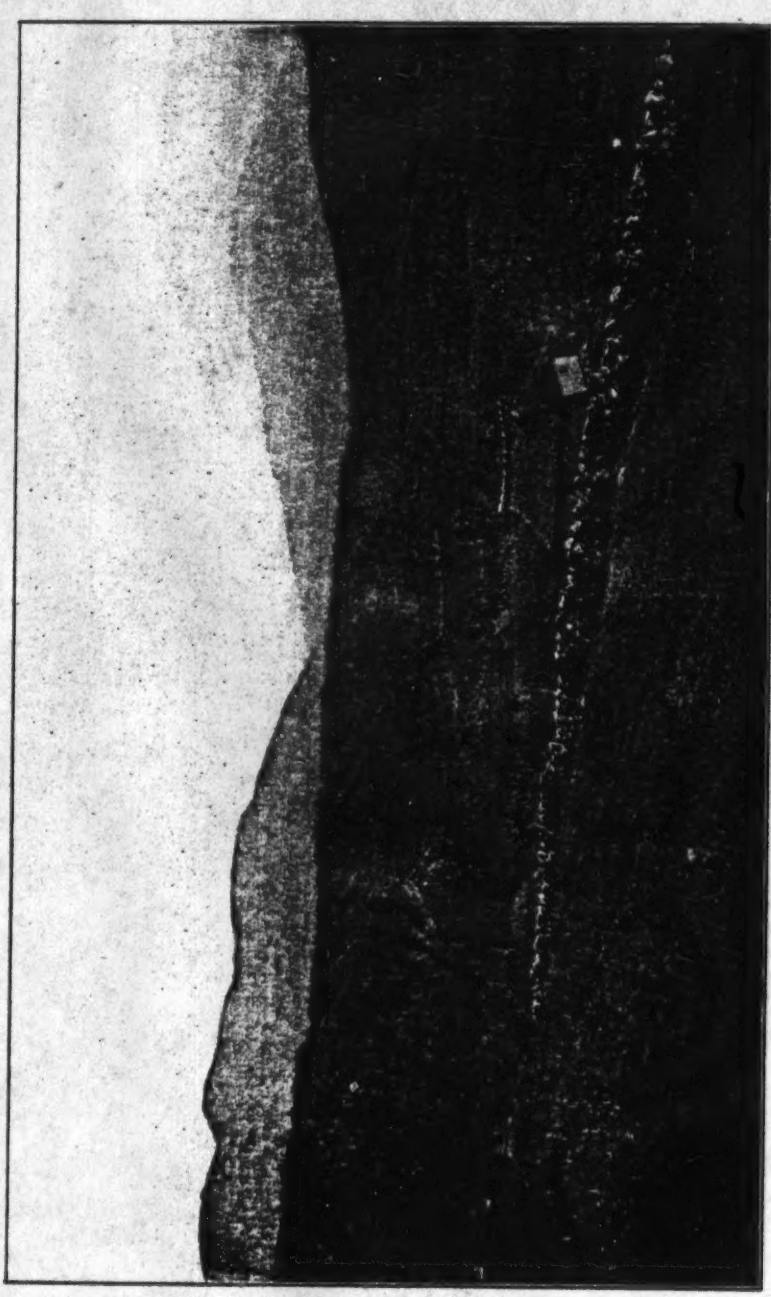
342



THE VILLAGE OF HUILA

The Houses are in the Patches of High Vegetation Scattered in the Savanna. In the Distance is the Huila Volcano, but the Extreme Summit is not Visible

[facing P.318]

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

302 [524] extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 515 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them. [513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 [182] The ornamentation of the *tilia*, or sash, with several brilliant colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *šal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Cæsalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nitse*, a Rubiacea (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the jagua (*kii*, probably *Genipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*. [177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paeces have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

They represent the primitive type of habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of the missionaries. 342 [177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-roofed church (plate v). 361

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of *bajareque*, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms, usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a single square apartment. In every case that came under my observation the interior was very untidy. 342 353 [354] [356]

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in the immediate neighborhood. 352 123 177

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates IV,[1] 2, and VI).[2] 407 286 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the housse, very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. 415 [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall, the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes. 351 [592] [247]

[1] [See plate facing P. 317 — Analyst]

[2] [See plate facing P. 320 — Analyst]

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
36 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[165] [173] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distributed as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861; municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of 1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population of this last municipio.

[177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian, acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin, dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress.--The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves. The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and [563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec- [177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand- 361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not 175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by [317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/179 cont./

123 484 49/ At 11 o'clock in the morning we left the Park, bound for Calderas. The road climbs through the Pisimbalá valley, at first on its right bank and soon on the left, after crossing a wooden bridge with a plank roof; from this bridge to the pueblo of San Andrés, three streams have to be crossed: Chapequís, La Virgen, and the cemetery stream. Along this short distance and at the edge of the road we counted ten houses, all of them thatched except one of masonry, tiles, oil paint, modern manufacture; the others have white washed walls, painted doors, and are generally clean and orderly. They are the houses of mestizos and colonists settled on their respective fincas.

At 11:30 we left the settlement and took the path that leads to Calderas; the road goes ever upward, in slow and slippery 123 342 zigzags. As we go along, we see houses with graphite-colored roofs and walls which are black when made of mud or (and these are in the majority) yellow when they are of maize stalks; they lie as if submerged /180/ in the plantings of bananas, sugar cane, and yuca; bluish smoke rises vertically in thick columns from the openings.

123 133 [361] At 12 o'clock we came out on the Mesón, Supok in the Paez dialect, a small plateau oriented from north to south and bounded on the east and west by great depressions. Many native huts stand there.

[137] The beautiful valley of the Pisimbalá torrent comes into view in its entirety; contracted at times, then widening more, extensive in length and generally narrow, it descends in a gentle slope in pursuit of the noisy Ullucos; covered with thriving vegetation, it looks like a carpet of living green blending in its tones the stateliness of the cachimbos /búcare, Erytrina umbrosa/, cedars, guamás, gadua bamboo, and yarumos /Cecropia peltata/, and the splendor of the plantings of sugar cane and bananas and the pastures of the herders.

[131] An hour later we reached the Yukaichí ridge, the boundary of the parcialidades /territorial divisions/ of San Andrés and

/182 cont./

423 The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation.
461 Owership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its de-
[173] fense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol
[628] fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an
[648] inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and
[735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 Children grow up in continuous communion with the
868 activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their
● 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he
[750] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the
[787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

/183 cont./

342 756 787 [823] and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama" he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them, and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements) are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry, [761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother, 342 756 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself prohibits people from living in a house built without the fulfillment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804]

1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/ [789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished, the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or from being angered.

342 476 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house is built with the help of others. The people are invited, including the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the woodland for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices resound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its 342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level 335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes 476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart, driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

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342 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and
177 keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.

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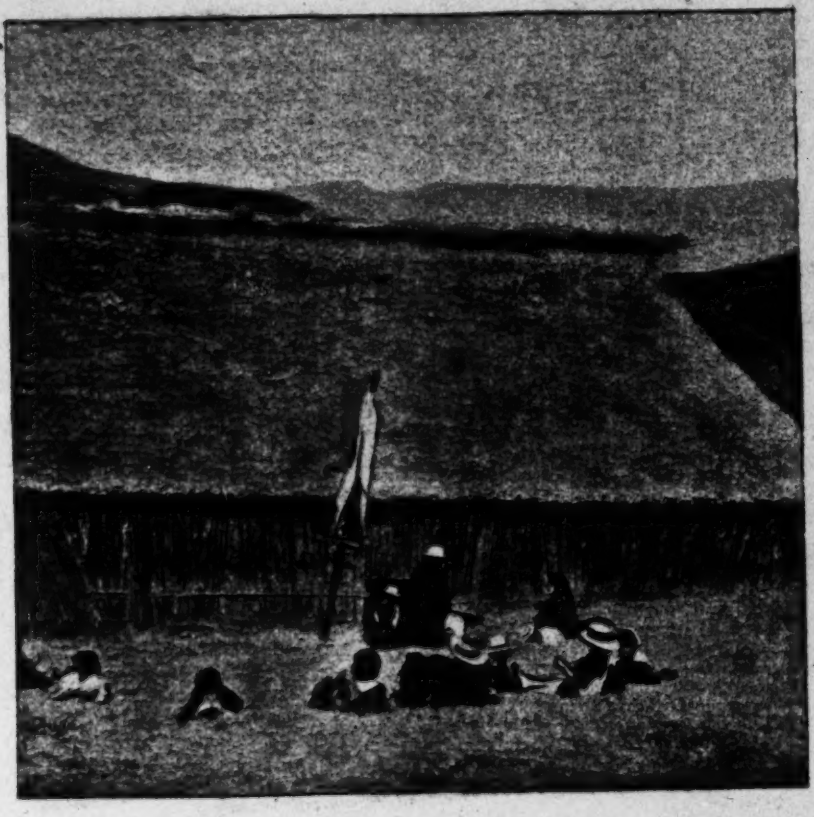

342 The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling:
352 tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls
353 of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen
23/ floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont./

860 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
● 342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

342 /177 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and [841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart- [343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, [352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of 342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a [342] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures [796] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the [346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving 346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 796 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (ũkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
127 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[373] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping; a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, (the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

5:Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113] 8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

●342 796 *756 [241] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñi, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
● 342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land
[563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades
● [342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com-
[476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [234]

262 /351 cont./
[234] settlement and when they are dragging down /352/ the timber;
[237] the milk is not used, except in Mosoco, where we have seen
[534] that it is really consumed.
[342]

The Calderunos say that sheep are eaten frequently in the
[231] temperate regions such as Avirama and San Andrés, but few are consumed in Calderas; some say that sheep give wool for clothing, "Why eat them, when they provide ponchos," and others state that to eat mutton brings bad luck, because it would be like eating one's papa.

262 When there are visits by "elders" such as compadres, older
574 brothers, fathers-in-law, or own fathers, they are entertained ("cuida") with dishes different from the ordinary ones, based essentially around barnyard fowl and eggs. If there is meat, a large piece is cooked. The compadres, in turn, bring as a gift griddle-cakes (about 15), eggs (about 10), and frequently chickens.

262 There is no special diet for children; they eat exactly the
846 same as adults. There are differences of diet according to sex only when the woman has just given birth. Then, she is given ground maize, arracacha, manioc, ripe plantain, laying hens ("these
[261] are nice and fat"), and mutton. The mejicano is proscribed for them, because it brings cold into the stomach and gives much pain; onions, because they cause a stomach ailment and rot the in-
[844] testines; pork and the frĭjol bueno for the same reason. Peppers are also taboo for parturient women.

262 For hard labor, it is regarded as good to eat mote, with
263 cabbage, frĭjol bueno, and well salted, because it gives strength for the daily activities; if one eats the same thing (" a good dish"), but without salt, they say that one is already hungry by the middle of the day.

262 Foods regarded as aphrodisiacs are "sango," prepared with
832 finely ground and sifted maize, and raw eggs.

261 Of the foods that they eat, they believe that chicha and water are transformed into blood, and the maize, potatoes, frĭjoles, and arracacha into flesh.

To gain weight, they believe that it is necessary to eat and not to work, rather than to follow a special diet.

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

6: Bernal Villa--100 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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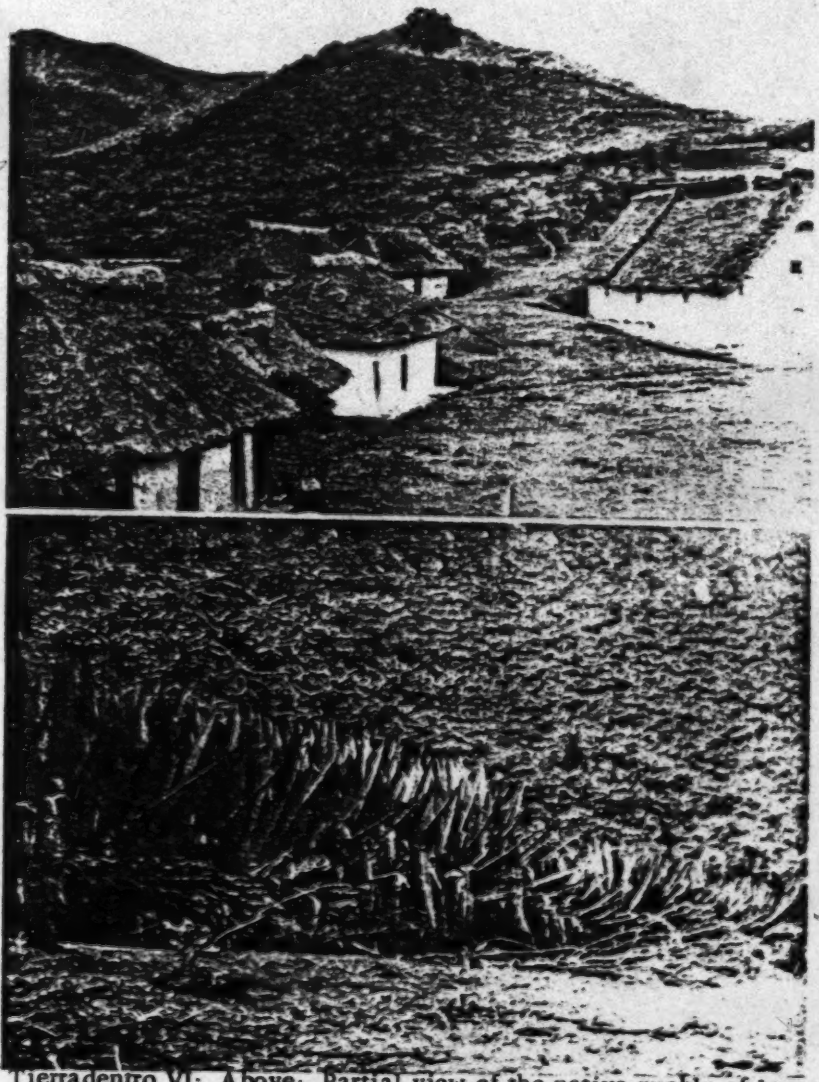

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Tierradentro VI: Above: Partial view of the native pueblo of Lame.
Below: Plantings of cabuya (Lame).

6: Bernal Villa - 102 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Tierradentro VIII: Dwelling in El Cuartel (Vitoncó). Note the pigs in front, the manner of storing wheat beneath the eaves of the house, and the supply of firewood.

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7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Píjao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguex* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,V(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

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The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

352 415 353 354 524 283 404 286 249

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

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Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

177 361

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

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[P. 942-A]

PLATE 185.—**Páez houses and bridge.** *Top (left):* Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right):* Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right):* Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left):* Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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PLATE 187.—**Páez weaving and spinning.** *Top:* Woman spinning wool while walking, San Andrés, Tierradentro. *Bottom:* Men weaving straw hats. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p.942c]

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 282
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./
596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatléčkwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ŏpyat (ŏp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
409 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
● 343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ẽyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dũyat of another house. In no case may
[341] they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/116 cont./

343 [574] [513] In addition to these dwellings only a few houses have separate buildings, such as, for example, one or, if need be, two storehouses or a small house (yatléckwe) in which friends and neighbors sleep when they help the owner for days for the joint work of expressing sugar cane or for the harvest. In the storehouse (kotyāvyat: literally "maize storehouse") only maize and beans are stored, not wheat or garden produce. Fruit, yuca, potatoes, and arracacha are not kept on hand or stored at all, but always merely fetched as needed and eaten immediately. Wheat is tied in bundles below the ears on stalks about 20 centimeters long and hung up under the roof above the fire. Maize and beans may be kept up to two years in the storehouse. For this purpose horizontal cross-sticks are fastened in it, over which the ears are hung, and racks consisting of maize stalks laid close together are constructed for the beans. These racks, too, are hung up, if possible, or at least are fastened quite high above the floor so that the mice (úńsa) cannot get to them. In addition, a cat (miš) is shut up in the storehouse, if one is available. Stalls for the livestock are unknown.

251 343 [262] [425] [231]

34 In the middle of the village of Calderas, on community land, stand the church (iglésia), the community house (kabíldeyát), and the six festival houses of the six largest families (Ill. 147 /see p. 264 /). In their construction, they are likewise hip-roofed houses, but their walls are built in the manner of the colonists' houses, /117/ out of vertical posts, on the inside and outside of which bamboo poles or straight branches are tied horizontally. To strengthen the posts the interstices are filled with earth, clay, and, in the lower part, also with stones. The filling is spread smoothly and the wall whitewashed inside and out. Whereas light enters the other houses through the door and the not very tightly sealed walls made of maize stalks placed side by side, light can enter the above-mentioned houses consisting of solid walls only through the relatively small door and the opening of the roof ridge, which makes the interior rather dark.

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/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (pĭša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
(422) two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster = atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe) are now and then fed with
235 maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

848 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he
623 is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no
842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one
848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without
837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a
[623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may
[554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child
841 the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her
[343] food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no
[758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In
[602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
847 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
ooo /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/185 cont./ In any
844 case, the birth, which is always regarded as very dangerous, takes
[343] place there. As a matter of principle, a midwife (ndõsoknãs) is
[759] fetched. The latter, as the name implies, is not a shaman. She has nothing to do with shamanistic functions, but is qualified only for births or external injuries, such as broken bones or flesh wounds.

The midwife may not be an old woman. She is fetched before the birth by the husband of the pregnant woman and always comes. Several times I asked whether in an emergency a man or the mother could help, but it was always said that the midwife
[465] always comes, no matter how busy she is. For her assistance she receives only her meals, unless complications arise. In this case she receives wool or natural produce as remuneration for her help.

In principle, only the midwife and the woman in labor are in the dúyat. The latter is in a squatting position. With her hands she holds onto a belt that is slung around the roof beam of the dúyat. If there is no belt, the husband may also be present, and he then embraces his wife from behind and holds her in such a way that she is likewise in a squatting position. The midwife
845 receives the child. If its position is not normal, for example, in
844 case of a breech position of the child, she turns the child so that the head lies downward. If the child is still not born, the mother must die -- as was explained to us -- for then nothing further can be done. This only rarely happens, however.

844 The midwife brings along her medicinal herbs, with which she rubs the body of the woman in labor. The newborn child is first washed with cold water and then wrapped in a piece of ruana
[412] and given to the mother. The severing of the umbilical cord is not done with the knife or the scissors, but rather, after the umbili-
[824] cal cord (kolwát) is tied beforehand with a homespun wool thread, with the sharp-edged cane of a type of reed. The father may see his child immediately after birth; the mother, however, stays with the child approximately two weeks longer in the dúyat. The afterbirth (duyáha), together with the umbilical cord, is buried near the menstruation house. The father digs the hole for this
[856] purpose, and the mother throws both into it. The hole must not be too shallow, for otherwise the dogs would dig them out, but not too deep either, for then the child would not get its teeth until very late and only with great difficulty.

/186 cont./

with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of bahareque.

The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements, is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20 meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room intended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compartment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque, sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed walls.

The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fiuhne wala, is 13 meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat), the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil, crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners; the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

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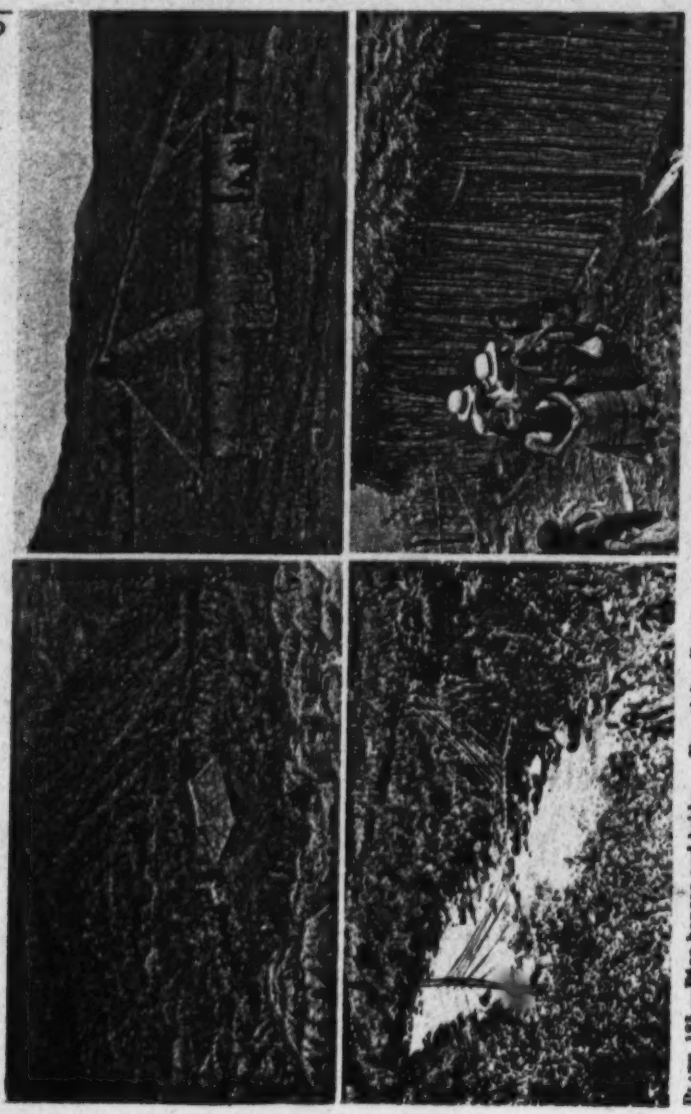

PLATE 188.—Páez houses and bridge. *Top (left)*: Family dwelling with menstrual hut at left. San Andrés. *Bottom (right)*: Páez Indians and house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Top (right)*: Large communal fiesta house, Calderas, Tierradentro. *Bottom (left)*: Suspension bridge, Tierradentro. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[P. 942-A]

7:Hemández de Alba E-5, 4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Páez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

Today both the *Moguex* and *Páez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Páez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the